

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

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LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, HA, US
SUBJECT: REASSESSMENT OF TACTICS IN PURSUIT OF U.S. GOALS
AND OBJECTIVES IN HAITI

REF: (A) PORT AU PRINCE 0061, (B) 77 PORT AU PRINCE 4747,
(C) 77 PORT AU PRINCE 4646

1. REFTELS SPELLED OUT THE RECENT RESURGENCE OF THE OLD GUARD
DUVALIERISTS TO A DOMINANT POSITION IN GOVERNMENT, THE WEAKENING
OF THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION AND INCREASED GOH SENSITIVITY TO
FOREIGN EFFORTS TO SET THE PACE OF INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT. THESE
TRENDS WILL PREVAIL OVER THE SHORT TERM AND REQUIRE AN ASSESS-
MENT OF TACTICS IN PURSUIT OF U.S. OBJECTIVES.

2. WE START THIS EXERCISE IN THE BELIEF THAT THE CURRENT
GOVERNMENT IS STILL A GREAT IMPROVEMENT OVER ITS PREDECESSOR,
AND THAT FURTHER LIBERALIZATION IS STILL POSSIBLE. WE ASSUME
THAT THE U.S. CONTINUES TO ADVOCATE NORMAL RELATIONS WITH THE
HOST GOVERNMENT; AND THAT IT WILL SEEK TO ADVANCE ITS OBJECTIVES
THROUGH PERSUASION RATHER THAN THROUGH MORE FORCEFUL MEANS
INCLUDING SUPPORT FOR THOSE WHO SEEK OUTRIGHT OVERTHROW.
THIS ASSUMPTION IS RELEVANT TO THE ALLEGATION MADE BY THE
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OLD GUARD THAT THE U.S. WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE OVERTHROW OF
THE DUVALIER REGIME. AND IT IS GERMANE TO THE DESIRE OF
MOST HAITIANS, EXCEPT THE MORE MILITANT EXILES AND A SMALL
GROUP OF DISAFFECTED LIBERALS, FOR STABILITY AND PROGRESSIVE
BUT GRADUAL CHANGE. THE ASSUMPTION WOULD, OF COURSE, GOVERN
OUR OVERALL CONDUCT OF RELATIONS WITH HAITI AND, MORE
SPECIFICALLY, THE PURSUIT OF OUR PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES, ECONOMIC

DEVELOPMENT AND IMPROVED HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES.

3. GIVEN THE ABOVE ASSUMPTION, AND BECAUSE OF THE CURRENT ASCENDANCY OF THE OLD GUARD, OUR FIRST TACTICAL STEP SHOULD BE TO SEEK TO EXPAND OUR CONTACT WITH THE GOH, INCLUDING THE OLD GUARD ELEMENT, IN THE PURSUIT OF OUR OBJECTIVES. AT THE SAME TIME WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN DISCREET BUT OPEN CONTACT WITH ALL OPPOSITION FACTIONS AS WELL AS OTHER INFLUENTIAL ELEMENTS OF HAITIAN SOCIETY.

4. SECONDLY, WE SHOULD SEEK TO USE THESE CONTACTS TO CLEAR AWAY THE ALLEGATIONS THAT U.S. POLICY HAS FAVORED A COMPLETE CHANGE OF REGIME AND RESPOND TO OTHER DOUBTS ABOUT U.S. POLICY THAT HAVE BEGUN TO EMERGE IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS. WE SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE BROAD AND SUSTAINED LINE OF U.S. POLICY IS UNDERSTOOD.

5. THIRDLY, AND IN SUPPORT OF OUR EDUCATIVE EFFORTS, WE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO CARRY OUT OUR DIALOGUE IN A WAY THAT WOULD SUPPORT THE MORE PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT (INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT) AND OF THE COMMUNITY WITHOUT GIVING THE OLD GUARD AMMUNITION TO STRENGTHEN ITS OWN POSITION. THIS CALLS FOR DUE CAUTION, OPENNESS AND INFORMAL APPROACHES TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE. WE SHOULD AVOID MAKING FORMAL DEMARCHES THAT TEND TO DRIVE THE WEAKER PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS SUCH AS THE PRESIDENT INTO THE ARMS OF THE OLD GUARD.

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AT THE SAME TIME WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THE FIRMNESS OF OUR PURPOSE.

6. SPECIFIC STEPS TO TAKE NOW:

A. RESPONSE TO LOCAL ALLEGATIONS THAT U.S. FAVORS OVERTHROW. SQUARELY MEET AND REFUTE ANY SUCH CHARGES OR INNUENDOS BY EITHER THE GOVERNMENT OR THE POLITICAL DISSIDENTS.

B. DEVELOPMENT. AS SOON AS APPROVED, PRESENT TO THE GOH THE TITLE III PROPOSAL WITH ITS MAJOR REQUIRED REFORMS. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT PROGRESS IN DEVELOPMENT IS ESSENTIAL FOR DURABLE CHANGES IN ALL ASPECTS OF HAITIAN LIFE INCLUDING ESPECIALLY PROGRESS TOWARDS HUMAN RIGHTS.

C. HUMAN RIGHTS.

(1) REITERATE OUR COMMITMENT TO IMPROVED GOH HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES--BROADLY DEFINED--WITHIN THE SAME CONTEXT THAT WE SEEK TO COOPERATE WITH AND PUSH THE GOH IN ESTABLISHING THE ECONOMIC BASE TO SUSTAIN THESE IMPROVEMENTS.

(2) CONTINUE TO URGE GOH INVITATION TO THE IAHR.

7. ADVANCEMENT OF U.S. OBJECTIVES WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE IN VIEW OF THE CURRENT FRAGILITY AND CANTANKEROUSNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT. NEVERTHELESS, WE SHOULD PERSIST SO THAT:

A. THE GOH AND OTHERS IN HAITI KNOW WE MAINTAIN THE SAME OBJECTIVES;

B. THE GOH AND OTHERS WILL UNDERSTAND OUR OBJECTIVES IN AS CONSTRUCTIVE A MANNER AS POSSIBLE;

C. THE GOH WILL BE GIVEN A CHANCE TO MAKE ITS OWN
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OBJECTIVES CLEAR, AND THE STRENGTHS AND CAPABILITIES OF ITS NEW CONSERVATIVE INFLUENCE CAN BE ASSESSED.

8. BECAUSE OF THE ASCENDANT CONSERVATIVE INFLUENCE IN PORT-AU-PRINCE, THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SOME OF OUR MORE USUAL CONDUITS HAS RECENTLY BEEN LIMITED. TO OVERCOME THAT LIMITATION, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR THE DEPARTMENT TO MAKE COMPLEMENTARY USE OF AMBASSADOR SALOMON AND AMBASSADOR CHARLES. THEY BOTH HAVE A GOOD UNDERSTANDING OF THE U.S, WHICH IS NOTICEABLY LACKING HERE, AND HAVE THEIR OWN CHANNELS TO THE PRESIDENT.
JONES

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